

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01
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R 271742Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4471
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 08897

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR UK SF
SUBJECT: OWEN MAY 25 UN ASSOCIATION SPEECH ON SOUTHERN
AFRICA

REF: LONDON 8799

1. AFTER SEVERAL OPENING PARAGRAPHS DESCRIBING BLACK
AFRICA'S GROWING IMPORTANCE AS A TRADING PARTNER FOR BRI-
TAIN AND THE EC, FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN'S SPEECH
CONTINUES AS FOLLOWS:

2. BEGIN TEXT: BRITAIN HAS ALSO A DUTY TO PRESS THE
UNITED NATIONS AND ITS VARIOUS AGENCIES TO DISCHARGE THE
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OBLIGATIONS FOR WHICH THEY WERE SET UP. TODAY THIS
APPLIES WITH PARTICULAR FORCE TO THE FIELD OF HUMAN
RIGHTS. I HAVE MADE IT PLAIN ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION
THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES ARE THE LEGITIMATE SUBJECT OF
INTERNATIONAL CONCERN AND THAT BRITAIN WILL SPEAK OUT
AGAINST VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHEREVER THEY OCCUR.
WE WILL NOT BE SELECTIVE; WE WILL NOT DISCRIMINATE. IN

AFRICA, AS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD, WE SHALL APPLY THE SAME STANDARDS AND THE SAME JUDGMENTS WHETHER WE ARE DISCUSSING UGANDA, ETHIOPIA OR SOUTH AFRICA.

THIS IS CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT, NOT LEAST BECAUSE A DISCRIMINATORY APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS ONLY UNDERMINES THE MORAL AUTHORITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S STAND AGAINST APARTHEID AND THE RULE OF UNREPRESENTATIVE WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENTS; AND SO MAKES EVEN MORE DIFFICULT OUR URGENT TASK OF TRYING TO CREATE, THROUGH A PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, INDEPENDENT, STABLE AND NON-RACIAL SOCIETIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

SYSTEMS OF APARTHEID AND WHITE MINORITY RULE ARE UNJUST AND DEEPLY OFFENSIVE TO EVERYONE WHO VALUES BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES. IT SHOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE TO ANYONE THAT THE FRUSTRATIONS AND SENSE OF HUMILIATION WHICH THEY GENERATE SHOULD NOT ONLY AROUSE, YEAR-IN, YEAR-OUT, THE STRONGEST PASSIONS AND INDIGNATION AT THE UN; BUT THEY SHOULD ALSO DRIVE PEOPLE IN EVER-INCREASING NUMBERS TO VIOLENCE AND ARMED STRUGGLE. THE BLUNT TRUTH IS THAT IN SOUTH AFRICA, NO LESS THAN IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA, THE ULTIMATE CHOICE LIES BETWEEN, ON THE ONE HAND, A PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION; AND, ON THE OTHER, DISINTEGRATION INTO RACIAL VIOLENCE, UNTOLD HUMAN SUFFERING AND ECONOMIC DESTRUCTION.

THAT CHOICE MUST BE MADE VERY SOON. BRITAIN AND HER PARTNERS AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAVE FOR THEIR PART MARSHALLED THEIR FULL WEIGHT BEHIND THE PROPOSITION THAT PEACEFUL AND NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF

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SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE YET POSSIBLE. IN THIS ENDEAVOR WE ARE ENORMOUSLY ENCOURAGED BY THE NEW THRUST OF THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY TOWARDS THE CONTINENT:

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BY THE UNITED STATES' DECLARED DETERMINATION TO SEE A
SOCIETY EVOLVE IN SOUTH AFRICA IN WHICH ALL PEOPLE,
REGARDLESS OF COLOUR, CAN LIVE AND WORK IN EQUALITY AND
MUTUAL RESPECT; BY THEIR DETERMINATION TO HELP BRING
ABOUT MAJORITY RULE AND THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN NAMIBIA
AND RHODESIA. MY TALKS WITH VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE
SHOWED THAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA ARE UNITED IN OUR
APPROACH TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. A CRUDE POLITICAL TRADE OFF
'YOU HELP US WE WILL RELAX PRESSURE ON YOU' IS NEITHER
CREDIBLE NOR DEFENSIBLE. THERE WILL BE NO TRADE OFFS.
THE TIME SCALE FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE
DIFFERENT FROM THAT IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. SOUTH
AFRICA WILL TAKE TIME TO EVOLVE BUT CHANGE THERE MUST BE,
AND TO DOWNGRADE OR BACK OFF FROM OUR CONDEMNATION OF
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APARTHEID WILL UNDERMINE OUR CREDIBILITY WITH BLACK
AFRICA AND WEAKEN OUR ABILITY TO PRESS FOR PEACEFUL
DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA AND
ZIMBABWE.

RHODESIA IS A SPECIFIC BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY.
EVER SINCE I HAVE BEEN FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRE-
TARY, I HAVE OPENLY AND DETERMINEDLY ACCEPTED THAT
RESPONSIBILITY BUT MY CENTRAL PURPOSE HAS BEEN TO WORK
AT ALL TIMES IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT. THE ROUND OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH
ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED IS IN PROGRESS AND DISCUSSIONS
HAVE TODAY STARTED IN SALISBURY. THE AIM IS TO AGREE TO
AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND A PROCEDURE FOR DEMO-

CRATIC ELECTIONS THAT WOULD PRODUCE AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE IN 1978. SUCH A CONSTITUTION MUST GUARANTEE MAJORITY RULE AND SAFEGUARD THE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE, BLACK AND WHITE. UNTIL MAJORITY RULE REALISM DICTATES THAT WE CANNOT EXPECT THE GUERRILLA WAR TO CEASE--THERE HAVE BEEN TOO MANY DISAPPOINTMENTS, TOO MANY BLIND ALLEYS IN THE PAST FOR THIS TO HAPPEN, BUT NEVERTHELESS I STRONGLY URGE THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO ESCALATION. IT WOULD BE FOLLY TO LIFT SANCTIONS UNTIL PROGRESS TO MAJORITY RULE IS, AND CAN BE SEEN BY ALL TO BE, IRREVERSIBLE BUT WHEN THIS HAS OCCURRED VIOLENCE TOO MUST STOP.

I DO NOT UNDER-ESTIMATE THE DIFFICULTIES THAT LIE AHEAD. EVEN IF THERE WERE NO MORE THAN A GLIMMER OF HOPE--AND I THINK THE PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS CAN BE RATED A LITTLE HIGHER--OUR INESCAPABLE MORAL AND POLITICAL OBLIGATION MUST BE TO CONTINUE THE SEARCH FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THE ALTERNATIVE WOULD DOUBTLESS STILL BE AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. BUT A PROLONGED PERIOD OF VIOLENCE, QUITE APART FROM THE DAMAGE IN MATERIAL AND HUMAN TERMS THAT IT WOULD DO TO ZIMBABWE ITSELF, WOULD HAVE A SERIOUS DESTABILISING IMPACT ON THE REGION AS A WHOLE, JEOPARDIZING, PERHAPS IRRETRIEVABLY, THE LONGER UNCLASSIFIED

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TERM PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

THERE ARE INNUMERABLE GOOD REASONS FOR TRYING TO ELIMINATE THE SOURCES OF TENSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE SITUATIONS THERE MOCK HUMAN DIGNITY; FOMENT RACIAL TENSION; AND TAKE THEIR TOLL OF LIVES EVERY DAY. BUT THESE PROBLEMS ALSO CONSUME A VAST AMOUNT OF POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC ENERGY, NOT TO MENTION ECONOMIC RESOURCES: A NUMBER OF AFRICAN STATES AND BRITAIN HAVE MADE VERY GREAT SACRIFICES IN APPLYING SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA. WE NEED TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS URGENTLY SO THAT THEY NO LONGER DISTRACT US FROM THE REAL JOB AT HAND--THAT OF DEVOTING ALL OUR ENERGIES TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN AND AFRICA IN CONDITIONS OF PEACE, PROSPERITY AND MUTUAL ADVANTAGE. IF WE ARE SUCCESSFUL, THE AFRICANS MIGHT BE RID, AT LEAST IN ONE PART OF THE CONTINENT, OF THE SHADOW OF OUTSIDE INTERVENTION WHICH INEVITABLY ACCOMPANIES REGIONAL AND RACIAL CONFLICT. THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO CONCENTRATE ON FINDING AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS, BOTH NATIONALLY AND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE OAU AND ITS REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROUPINGS.

THESE MUST BE THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES OF ALL THOSE WHO HAVE NOT ONLY THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF AFRICA AT HEART BUT WHO ALSO CHERISH THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS IDEALS. END TEXT.

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